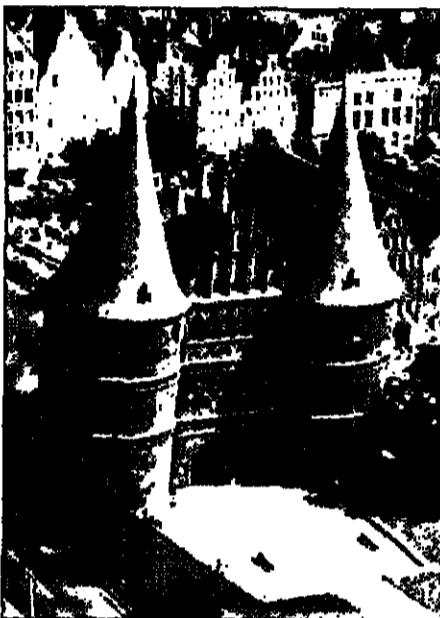


Routes to tour in Germany The German Holiday Route – from the Alps to the Baltic



1 Lübeck
2 Melsungen
3 Schwäbisch Hall
4 Berchtesgaden

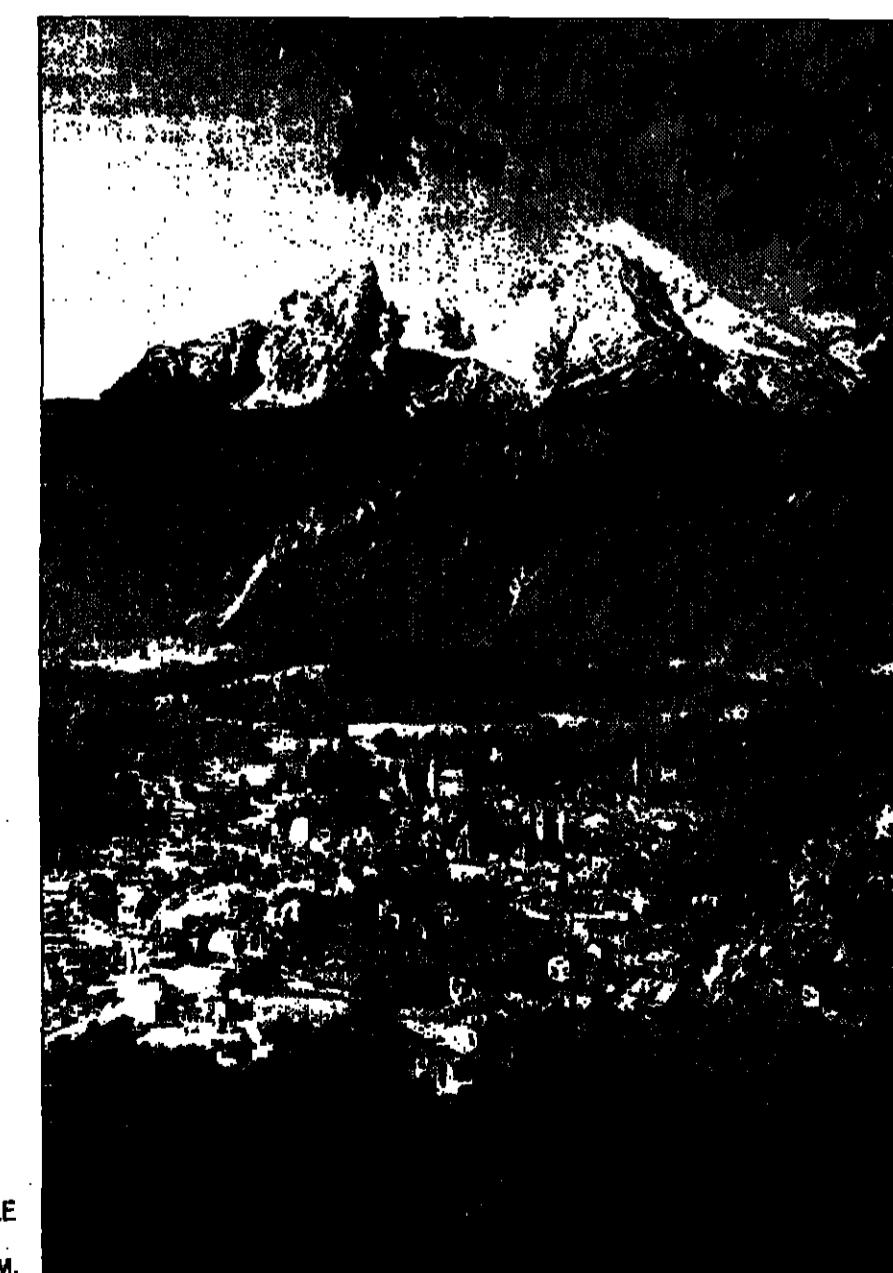
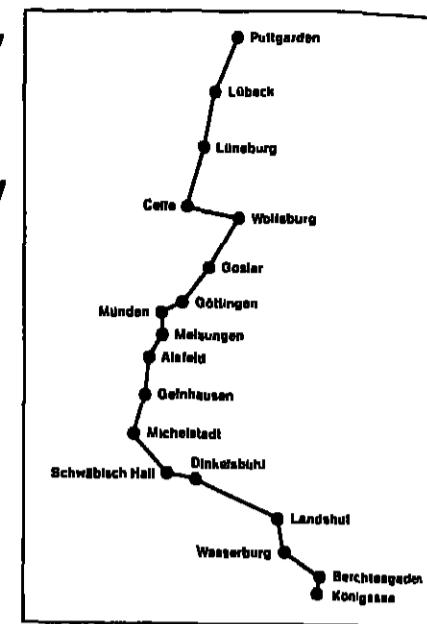


German roads will get you there, and if you plan to see as much as you can, why not travel the length of the country? From the Alpine foothills in the south via the typical Mittelgebirge range to the plains of the north, you will pass through the most varied landscapes. And so you needn't take pot luck in deciding on a route, we recommend the German Holiday Route from the Alps to the Baltic.

Start in the south with Berchtesgaden and its bob run. Maybe you have already heard tell of Landshut, a mediaeval Bavarian town with the world's largest brick-and-mortar tower. Or of Erbach in the Odenwald, with its castle and the Ivory Museum. Or of Alsfeld with its half-timbered houses, the Harz mountain towns or the 1,000-year-old Hanseatic port of Lübeck.

Visit Germany and let the Holiday Route be your guide – from the Alps to the Baltic.

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DEPOSE A BRX X

New mood of expectation as European leaders meet

Hannoversche Allgemeine

For years, many have thought of the European Community in terms of bitter disputes and growing problems, especially those caused by surplus farm production.

For the public, the Community has steadily lost the glamour that surrounded it in its first decade.

Many have forgotten the extent to which it was responsible for eliminating frontiers in Europe and promoting a sense of community. The summit in Hanover is a good chance to look at the achievements of the EC and taking another look at what condition it really is in.

In reality the Community has developed even in the course of its disputes, as is most readily apparent from the growing need felt by non-members to improve their relations with it.

The Soviet leaders, for instance, have now abandoned doubts and have paved the way for establishing formal relations between the European Community and its East Bloc counterpart, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon).

Austria, which for 30 years felt obliged by its neutrality not to join the Community, is now planning to apply for membership.

Norway is preparing to renew its application.

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On the road with a copy of the tramp's own paper

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application, withdrawn years ago when a referendum rejected the idea.

This list could be extended, which wouldn't have been the case if everyone else saw the European Community in the same terms as many people in member-countries do: as a half-bankrupt venture that laboriously papers over its differences from one conference to the next.

In reality all neighbouring states are working on the assumption that the Community will succeed in the years ahead in setting up a single internal market.

Whether it does so as planned and announced, by the end of 1992, is not the crucial factor. A start has certainly been made, and some time in the 1990s a single European market of 320 million consumers will come into being.

In numbers and economic potential it will outstrip even the United States.

Difficult though the process may prove in detail, progress is being made. European Community Finance Ministers have agreed on deregulating capital transfers. Education Ministers have agreed on reciprocal recognition of university degrees.

Those who envisage a "United States of Europe" may find this too little. Those who still dream of a united Europe are bound to feel dissatisfied with the reality, which consists of progress solely by drags and drabs and of unsatisfactory compromises.

But nation-states are hardly perennial and all government must bear their citizens' interests in mind or risk alienating the polis. That is why the process is so arduous and protracted; it was bound to be.

No major decisions were due in Hanover. All things considered, that was neither a mistake nor a disadvantage. Between January and June, with Germany in the chair, the various Councils of Ministers have done sound work.

Hanover was a Euro-summit at which, for once, the heads of state and government did not have to solve problems with which the Council of Ministers failed to cope.

That presented the Twelve with an opportunity of discussing the more distant future and longer-term objectives.

They included a European monetary



Here we are in Hanover. From left, British Prime Minister Thatcher and Foreign Minister Howe; Bonn Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher; and French President Mitterrand.

(Photo: dpa)

The aim is not just to harmonise national regulations in sectors such as labour protection but to approximate company law. Most member-countries lack German-style industrial democracy ("co-determination") provisions.

The Hanover summit could well give the process a powerful boost even though headline-hitting decisions were not reached.

Rotation of chairmanship, petty and impractical though it may seem, has its advantages. The government in the chair over a given six-month period generally feels bound to achieve something new.

The lack of highlights at the Hanover summit was in no way detrimental to the Community. It probably did it a power of good for the heads of state and government for once to feel free from pressure to reach decisions come what may.

One can but hope that the opportunity presented is put to good use.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 June 1988)

Comecon-EC deal reveals a change in Soviet attitude

The European Community and its East Bloc equivalent, Comecon, have signed a declaration of "mutual recognition" which amounts to a formal acknowledgment of each other. The volume of trade between the two blocs is not great in relation to their size. Last year, the EC exported about 55 billion marks worth of goods to Comecon and trade in the other direction was worth about 42 billion marks.

The joint declaration by the European Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation (Comecon) on future cooperation marks a more far-reaching turning point than the somewhat dry document might suggest.

Above all it changes Comecon, which was set up by the Soviet Union as a means of domination and exploitation.

Moscow's Comecon partners have stubbornly maintained significant vestiges of national independence, especially in the economic sector.

Under Mr Gorbachov Comecon's

days of setting the lead are over. No other interpretation can be made of its overture to the European Community.

Direct trade ties between the two are ruled out by their different structures. So the declaration merely lays down a framework for bilateral agreements between the Community and individual Comecon countries, some of which are already under negotiation.

Yet it is a means of setting fundamental trends and of opening up new avenues for and instruments of cooperation that might be crucial for the success of East Bloc reforms.

It might bridge the wide gap that separates Eastern and Western Europe economically and technologically – not only for goods and know-how but also for free-market ideas and recipes for success.

There is no point in discussing "aid" for the Soviet Union, which can only solve its problems by itself.

But in a difficult transitional situation Moscow would be overtaxed if it had to stand surely for its partners' economic stability, which is of such enormous importance for Europe as a whole.

The Soviet Union's partners in Europe are unable to solve their problems alone and would like Western help.

Yet not even the West can relieve the Comecon countries of the task of reorganising the Eastern European market and developing forms of integration of their own that enable them to undertake a sensible division of labour.

But cooperation between the EC and Comecon could result in bright ideas here.

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 25 June 1988)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Wanted: bright ideas for foreign policy

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Chancellor Kohl complained at the CDU party conference that, although Germans were travelling more and more around the world, they were showing steadily less interest in international affairs.

If the Chancellor thinks this is a sign of foreign-policy provincialism, then to what extent is Bonn an international metropolis where a distinctive foreign policy is pursued?

Bonn is known in East and West for firmly staying on course and for patiently seeking detente; it is not a byword for inspiration or vision in the swiftly changing context of world affairs.

The Federal government is adept at claiming its share in East-West change and in urging the superpowers to make headway on disarmament. It is far less fruitful as the nucleus of initiatives of its own in a new international order.

In East-West terms the last major contribution Bonn made was the endorsement of the December 1979 Nato dual-track decision (on missile deployment and disarmament talks) by Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher.

A single German concept, Ostpolitik, initiated by Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel, had previously found its way into the vocabulary of international affairs.

Another arguably German concept, associated with a German name in much the same way as the Rapacki Plan was associated with the name of the Polish Foreign Minister, is the Hullstein Doctrine, a long outmoded veteran of the post-war period.

Bright ideas from Bonn, not to mention grand designs for the millennium ahead, would be most welcome right now. After the effort and expense of the superpower summit in Moscow we face the prospect of a major lull.

The second "year of disarmament" proclaimed by Herr Genscher is starting to mark time as Washington and Moscow show signs of uncertainty.

After their initial success in scrapping medium-range missiles there is no sign of real progress in any other disarmament sector.

Herr Kohl and Herr Genscher may sound a note of urgency but they too have nothing but the old formulas to offer: an overall Western concept and residual nuclear security, the tenets of East-West cooperation.

In Bonn all parties to the government have set up a sound barrier, partly for domestic political reasons, that takes the edge off any moves toward progress in disarmament.

Thinking about any further zero solutions for Europe, the world's most highly-armed continent, is regarded as taboo.

The corridors of power in Bonn — officials at the Chancellor's Office, the Foreign Office and, in particular, the Defence Ministry — cannot be accused of twiddling their thumbs.

Arms control projects are fleshed out

in Bonn, as in other capitals, with proposals (on verification of a ban on chemical weapons) and figures (on conventional disarmament).

Herr Kohl and Herr Genscher have put in hard work reminding their fellow-members of Nato that its overall security and disarmament concept has yet to be drawn up.

But the outcome of their work has, for the most part, been to further postpone expectations of results.

Herr Genscher, in his constant quest for allies at home and abroad, has lately hit on the idea, together with his French opposite number, M. Dumas, of including disarmament on the agenda of Franco-German cooperation.

Yet both well know that France's nuclear weapons mark out limits to the extent to which they can join forces in this respect.

There is a more pressing need for German proposals that do not need to be coordinated and discussed down to the smallest detail with one partner or another. What is needed are ideas that extend not just from one Nato gathering to the next but outline as specifically as possible what the shape of things to come in Europe ought best to like.

Instead, grand designs are all the rage. No government policy statement or party-political programme manages without a mention of the "all-European peace order."

But no-one says what shape it is to take, what is to happen to the pacts and what quantity and kind of weapons peaceful neighbours with open borders need to maintain security.

How are we to set about conventional arms control without ideas on such issues and what on earth is meant by a cooperative majority?

How is the Foreign Minister to spell out what he has in mind so that the new Defence Minister, who is frankly sceptical about the reform capability of Soviet military thinking, will bear with him?

Steps forward

At times one has a presentiment of the direction events might take in Europe, such as when the Bonn Foreign Minister builds bridges at an international conference in Potsdam or the Chancellor's staff glean practical ideas on how to fit the meetings between Herr Kohl and Mr Gorbachov into a promising context.

Two points in particular made the Toronto summit interesting: Canada and the European Community flexed their muscles and are being taken increasingly seriously.

Canadian Premier Brian Mulroney as the host made astute use of the opportunity to present Canada to the rest of the world as an economic power of a size and with a dynamism about which the Europeans and the Japanese know little.

Canada, as the second-largest country in the world (the Soviet Union is the largest), is keen to play its part between the neighbouring United States and the Europeans with whom it has much in common.

Canada is part of North America, and the proposed free trade agreement with the United States will strengthen these ties. But the Canadians are keen to retain their identity.

Many are worried they may become even more of an economic and cultural appendage of the United States. So Mr Mulroney is most interested in forging closer links with the European Community and in encouraging German investors to take a closer look at Canada.

Thomas Meyer
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 23 June 1988)

Arms control projects are fleshed out

Canada and Europe win points at the Toronto Summit

The seven heads of state and government of the leading Western industrialised countries made the Toronto summit a festival of peace and harmony.

Everyone was pleased to everyone else, especially to President Reagan, whose last Western economic summit it was.

For that reason alone European and Japanese criticism of the continued basic current of protectionism in the United States was subdued. Another was the largely satisfactory state of the economy in all seven countries, which kept cares at bay.

Not even the risk of higher interest rates, the problem of agricultural subsidies and the continued imbalance in trade ties between America, Europe and Japan seriously upset the hermetically sealed-off summit.

So it is surprising that both actors and audience were again delighted with the summit circus? Few dared to suggest that the goodwill of Toronto was merely a snapshot of the varying interplay of the next but outline as specifically as possible what the shape of things to come in Europe ought best to like.

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Arms control projects are fleshed out

European and Japanese fears that the free trade zone with the United States may prove a "fortress."

Conversely, Europeans assure both Canada and the United States that the greater European internal market will remain open for trade with other countries.

The doubts that remain are due to Washington's inclination to conclude free trade agreements with other countries, such as Japan. This policy could lead to the creation of blocs; for the Europeans it remains unpredictable.

Much like the Canadians, the Europeans are gaining a clearer identity in the concert of the great powers. European Community decisions to reform budget, agricultural and structural policy and to set up a single internal market by 1992 have triggered US and Japanese interest.

Chancellor Kohl, President Mitterrand and the European Commission's Jacques Delors were bombarded with questions about the internal market at Toronto.

How times change! A few years ago the Americans and Japanese merely smiled at the perennially strife-ridden European Community; today they are almost afraid of it.

With its 320 million consumers the European market will be the largest in the free world, larger than the United States and Canada combined and larger than Japan.

For M. Delors, who a few years ago was reluctantly tolerated at the summit, Toronto was a success. The European Community was taken seriously for once.

The Japanese again smiled most suggestively in Toronto when, for once, mention was made of their failure to open their home market to imports.

The seven-hour debate, which was marked by irreconcilable differences of opinion on the social fairness and economic consequences of the government's proposals, was followed by several hours of roll-call voting on individual aspects in a second reading of the bill and a roll-call final vote in a third reading.

Franz Josef Strauss's insistence on pushing through the unpopular tax exemption for amateur pilots (he is himself one) is aimed at strengthening his own power base and weakening that of the Chancellor, Helmut Kohl.

A power-minded person such as Strauss, the CSU boss, does not plunge the Bonn coalition into a crisis simply for the sake of giving a few thousand fellow amateur pilots a tax gift.

He wants to maintain his dominant influence, both in Bavaria and in Bonn.

So in the end everyone was satisfied and the critics were silenced by so much agreement. The seven Western leaders have nothing but good mind.

Even more importantly for the markets, they did not make the wrong noises. In politics today that is the key to virtually total success.

Peter Hort
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 23 June 1988)

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The reperussions will also be felt in the 1990 general election year.

Strauss is trying to remove the risks

of the "silly season" which takes place during the Bundestag's summer recess.

The next time the Chancellor comes up with some unpalatable proposal they may not turn out to be so loyal.

The CDU/CSU parliamentary party is gradually slipping out of Kohl's grasp.

The CSU was willing to jeopardise the coalition for the sake of giving a tax break to such a tiny group of voters.

It cannot be ruled out that it will readily find another excuse to exercise its veto.

The Albrecht initiative on the health

law.

It was a serious warning in Kohl's direction.

Bernd Knebel
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 24 June 1988)

(Die Welt, Bonn, 24 June 1988)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Tax-reform package gets rough passage before Bundestag approves it

The government's 1990 tax-reform bill which has been passed by the Bundestag proposes reductions in income tax of 37.2 billion marks. The Treasury would gain an extra 18.1 billion marks from new with-holding tax on capital and from a reduction in tax exemptions. The bill still has to be approved by the Bundesrat, the upper house.

The debate focused strongly on the aviation fuel aspect, even though Finance Minister Stoltenberg and other government coalition spokesmen had described this issue as a peripheral problem.

They pointed out that amateur pilots and small and medium-sized firms account for only four per cent of aviation fuel consumption.

They insisted that the competitive disadvantages for smaller businesses must be eliminated.

The government's controversial 1990 tax reform bill has been passed by the Bundestag. But only just.

The final vote on the tax package, planned to provide a net tax relief figure of DM 19m, was delayed because of roll-call voting on specific provisions.

The vote on a particularly disputed aspect, tax exemption on aviation fuel for amateur pilots, was a real cliff-hanger.

The SPD and the Greens decried the government's action as a scandal.

Hans Apel (SPD) said that while giving the amateur pilots a tax gift of roughly DM 2,500 a year each, the government was digging deep into the pockets of German motorists. He described this as unacceptable.

He called the tax reform a folly full of injustices. Criticism by the Greens ran along very much the same lines.

Finance Minister Stoltenberg self-critically admitted that the tax reform was reluctantly tolerated at the summit, Toronto was a success. The European Community was taken seriously for once.

The seven-hour debate, which was marked by irreconcilable differences of opinion on the social fairness and economic consequences of the government's proposals, was followed by several hours of roll-call voting on individual aspects in a second reading of the bill and a roll-call final vote in a third reading.

Franz Josef Strauss's insistence on pushing through the unpopular tax exemption for amateur pilots (he is himself one) is aimed at strengthening his own power base and weakening that of the Chancellor, Helmut Kohl.

A power-minded person such as Strauss, the CSU boss, does not plunge the Bonn coalition into a crisis simply for the sake of giving a few thousand fellow amateur pilots a tax gift.

He wants to maintain his dominant influence, both in Bavaria and in Bonn.

He can only do this if he wins elections at three levels in Bavaria in 1990: local government, state assembly and national.

He would have to be politically blind not to realise that the Bonn government's policies are hurting his position. This is the only conclusion which can be drawn from the last election.

The insistence forced Kohl to exercise his full authority to persuade his parliamentary party to approve it.

The result is mass protest by the party's rank and file and the voters.

Many CDU members of parliament will now have to fight for their re-election, in some cases for the basis of their livelihood.

This means that some CDU politicians stand to suffer from Kohl's action.

The next time the Chancellor comes up with some unpalatable proposal they may not turn out to be so loyal.

The CDU/CSU parliamentary party is gradually slipping out of Kohl's grasp.

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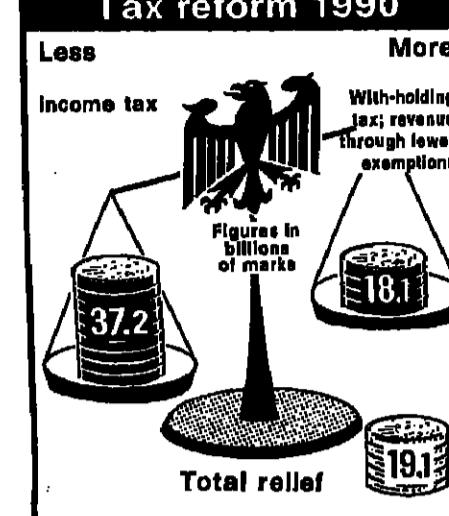
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Bernd Knebel
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 24 June 1988)

(Die Welt, Bonn, 24 June 1988)

Tax reform 1990



■ PERSPECTIVE

The ambivalence of a united Allied presence in a divided Germany

Germany is a place that either divides the world or unites it, said French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault in 1946. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the ambivalence of Allied responsibility for Germany.

It keeps a country in the heart of continental Europe together while, at the same time, having divided it.

It is the legacy of two eras, one starting with the German invasion of Russia in June 1941 and ending with Stalin's 1948-49 blockade of Berlin, the other starting in 1944-45, involving the Cold War and a divided world that has lasted to this day.

When Truman, Stalin and Churchill arrived at their decisions in Potsdam in 1945 they fleshed out lines drawn on the map of Europe in London 10 months earlier, on 12 September 1944.

Germany in its 1937 borders, before the Nazi conquests, was to be divided into zones of military occupation.

In Yalta, in February 1945, no changes were made, although the West registered a protest, warned by the bitter fate of Poland as liberated by the Red Army.

So the division of Europe into spheres of interest was accompanied by a catalogue of well-intentioned democratic wishes, the "declaration on liberated Europe," to which Stalin consented, while

The anti-Hitler coalition began to disintegrate (during) the Warsaw uprising*

stating that the Red Army was there to stay, and with it Soviet power.

De Gaulle's France, which was represented neither in London in 1944 nor at Yalta in 1945, was a party to the 5 June 1945 declaration by which, after the capitulation of the Wehrmacht and the imprisonment of the last Reich government, the Allies assumed supreme power over all that had formerly been the German Reich.

In 1945 it was in the process of being split up. East of the Oder-Neisse line the Russians and Poles set to work with fire and the sword.

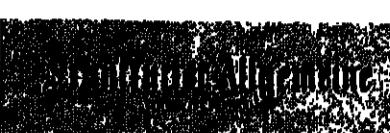
In the centre the Red Army stayed put, organised as the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, by which it is known to this day.

In the West the British and Americans moved closer together to make room for a French zone of occupation and a French sector in Berlin.

The ambivalence of this beginning was never resolved. Was power over Germany the peg that was to hold the Allies together after the death of the man who gave his name to the anti-Hitler coalition? Or was the German succession to be the cause of the next war?

Whatever else Allied war conferences had discussed since 1942 they deliberately postponed a decision on sharing the spoils to avoid a premature breakdown of their coalition.

All that remained was the vision of One World as reflected in the enemy-state clause of the UN Charter, in Four-Power control of Berlin and in joint Allied responsibility for what, at Potsdam, was termed "Germany as a whole."



Yet the German administrative authorities agreed at Potsdam never were set up in Berlin.

The Allies were split over reparations, not to mention Sovietisation of the East and let alone the Soviet claim to the Ruhr and the American veto.

Allied responsibility for Germany has since implied both a condominium over the heart of Europe and a clash between those who claim the right to determine what shape it will take.

The anti-Hitler coalition began to disintegrate in connection with the 1944 Warsaw uprising. It continued in Yalta and Potsdam.

The March 1947 Moscow conference of Allied Foreign Ministers marked the end of the line.

Soviet pressure on Western Europe was countered by the Truman doctrine and by Marshall aid, with George F. Kennan coining the concept of "containment."

The Federal Republic of Germany was, set up 40 years as its nucleus, not as a state on the lookout for a foreign policy but as the result of a foreign policy on the lookout for a state, as Karl Kaiser put it.

The state of Germany has since comprised not only the legacy of the Second World War but the amnesia in the struggle for the German succession. It was thus bound to become the focal point of what Walter Lippmann in 1947 called the Cold War.

The West linked containment of the Soviet Union with containment of the German Question.

The Soviet Union sought to retain its wartime conquests, to keep the Soviet empire under lock and key and to retain the option of holding Western Europe hostage in return for good behaviour on America's part.

East and West, in Allied responsibility for Germany, claimed a legal title to shape the destiny of Central Europe and a veto to change of any kind.

At the same time both sides felt the temptation to queen their respective German pawn in the game of international political chess — and to have Germany as a whole on their own side.

Berlin was always at the heart of the matter. The Soviet blockade of the western part of the city led the world to the brink of war in 1948-49. The game has since marked time, with the West preferring not to make use of uprisings on the outskirts of the Soviet empire to rewrite the map of Europe.

The Western rollback theory was largely rhetorical, while the Soviet Union failed to make the West Germans feel that unity, the key to which lies in Moscow, was more important than freedom, the key to which lies in Washington.

The solution by which Austria was granted unity and independence as a neutral in 1955 was not applicable to Germany as a whole; it is too large and wrongly located geographically.

It needs a superpower if a superpower balance is to be struck, and without the Federal Republic as a member of the Western alliance the Atlantic pact would lack its Continental linchpin.

In 1958 Adenauer, backed by Franz Josef Strauss, sounded out the possibility of an Austrian-style solution for the GDR alone, but that was beyond the reach of the West in general and the Federal Republic in particular.

In exchange for its 1954 renunciation of nuclear weapons the Federal Republic was granted sovereignty in 1955. It was based on both the confidence the Germans had meanwhile inspired and the realisation that the defence of the West must begin on the Elbe — or not at all.

The Federal Republic's Nato ties failed to annul the Allied responsibility for Germany any more than the GDR being incorporated in the Warsaw Pact did.

Bonn's 1954 renunciation of nuclear weapons included an undertaking that the Germans were neither able nor willing to use their new-gained sovereignty to dispense with Allied rights.

This pledge was reiterated in 1968 when the Federal Republic signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, Bonn's signature being far the most important from the Soviet viewpoint.

The more the division of Germany was consolidated in the Cold War, the more Allied responsibility for Germany was concentrated on Berlin. The Berlin and Cuban crises of 1958-1962 were more than regional crises.

The Soviet Union was nearing nuclear parity with the United States and clamouring for adjustments to the bipolar system. The Berlin Wall was one such adjustment, Cuba staying Marxist was another.

The Kremlin came to be respected by the White House. This twofold crisis led to the mode of conflict limitation that soon came to be known as deterrence.

The "red telephone" link between Washington and Moscow and the 1963 test ban treaty were the nuclear starting point, while Berlin was the focal point in world affairs.

The building of the Berlin Wall was a moment of truth for the Germans. It ended more than the mass exodus of refugees from the GDR.

The concept of Germany by which the Federal Republic was seen as the precursor of a return to "German unity" and the model for a united Germany from the

Both sides felt the temptation to have Germany as a whole on their own side*

Moselle to the Oder within the framework of European integration was in painful need of revision.

Deutschlandpolitik could only hope to meet with success by working from the reality of division rather than from the objective of unity.

The constitutional goal of reunification in peace and freedom and in a united Europe remained the framework term of reference, but the practice has since been limited to conflict containment, custodianship of human rights for all Germans and a *de facto* *de regard* where the GDR was concerned.

That was logical enough. The status quo had to be respected if it was to be amended. The confidence of the West remained the indispensable prerequisite of

the Deutschlandpolitik. The Federal Republic could no longer regard itself as a makeshift pending the restoration of national unity. It had to evolve a *raison d'être* of its own.

Allied responsibility for Germany had survived the Cold War but future policy on Berlin and Germany could no longer be accommodated within this framework.

Enough had remained of the conflict between the Allies to ensure German room to manoeuvre, but enough remained of their condominium to limit German leeway.

So the world powers were left with the task of containing the conflict over Germany, which had come to a head in Berlin, within the framework of the East-West accord and of making it manageable in a smaller-scale accord between the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR.

Allied responsibility for Germany could neither be handed over to the Germans nor left to the other side.

Thus the 1971 Four-Power Agreement on Berlin emerged as the fulcrum and focal point of both Bonn's new Ost-

The building of the Berlin Wall was a moment of truth for the Germans*

politik and the great powers' endeavours to strike balance between condominium and conflict in the Allied responsibility for Germany.

The Four-Power Agreement placed a safety margin between the old struggle for Germany and the new detente and incorporated Allied control over German affairs.

This agreement was not to be had without contradictions. The Soviet Union insisted on having concluded an agreement on West Berlin, the West on having reached agreement on Berlin as a whole. The Agreement itself refers to "the area in question."

The 1971 Four-Power Agreement on Berlin paved the way for the 1972 Basic Treaty between the two German states at the same time limiting the Basic Treaty's scope.

There are strict limits to what the Allies are agreed on, as a glance at the military documentation is sufficient to show, but Allied responsibility for Germany was and is both the starting-point and the limit to all-German policy.

Changes to this state of affairs are conceivable, but all concerned are keen to maintain the stability of Europe and predictability of the East-West conflict. That is partly why change is virtually inconceivable other than in the context of history.

The world has not forgotten that this state of affairs is the outcome of two world wars and the Cold War and that the stability of post-war Europe and relations between the world powers depend on it.

The Germans have not forgotten that this is the price they have had to pay for the course of German history in the 20th century and for the confidence of neighbouring countries — or that Germans in the GDR daily repay this historic debt.

The Allied responsibility for Germany will continue for as long as the heart of Europe is disputed and the East-West conflict continues.

If, however, it assumes other, more civilised proportions, the Soviet Union seeks to strike a balance in the West and the pacts start to show signs of movement, the Germans would be well advised to ponder over a European peace order worthy of the name. Otherwise Allied responsibility

Continued on page 5

■ FLASHBACK

Currency reform in 1948: how the mark turned post-war gloom into boom

Honest money again for honest work!" The headline in the *Rheinische Post* on 19 June, 1948, heralded the most significant turning-point in Germany's early post-war years: currency reform.

Next day, long queues formed outside the issuing centres. Grubby Reichsmark notes were handed over and crisp new Deutsche Mark notes were handed back in exchange.

The amount was rationed. Each person was allowed to exchange 60 Reichsmarks for 40 of the new ones. Another 20 new marks was handed over that August.

Almost DM2bn of the new currency found its way into the pockets of the people of "Frizonia" (the three western zones of occupation) by 21 June, 1948.

After this date, people were also called upon to hand in their Reichsmark money at the banks and declare all their deposits.

Just before the currency reform began the Economic Council of the three western zones passed the "Law on Basic Economic Policy Principles following the Currency Reform".

This law enabled economic policy administrators to relax economic control.

At this stage, however, the Allies did not consider lifting economic control altogether.

Ludwig Erhard, the director of Trizonia's economic policy administration — and later Bonn's Economics Minister — then took the big gamble.

Without consulting the Allied military bureaucracy, he announced the far-reaching elimination of economic control stipulations and laid the foundation stone for the free market economy.

A few days before currency reform "D-day" lorries transported the 500

tonnes of notes to 200 branches of the regional central banks.

In terms of cash at least, everybody was equal that first day. All had just 40 marks. Of course, people who owned real estate (which provided collateral security for lending) or other goods (which could now be officially sold for money) still had assets.

Overnight, he managed to release market forces and enable the sale of an undreamt-of range of goods.

After the dictatorial management of the economy under the Nazis and the strict economic control of the early post-war years many Germans had forgotten that there was such a thing as demand and supply.

Many products which the average German was only familiar with by hearsay were now suddenly available in the shops.

On 22 June the supply of vegetables was already greater than demand for the first time since the war.

Leather bags, shelves full of women's underwear and bales of cloth, good-quality paper and many other articles of merchandise could be bought in unlimited quantities.

Amid the joy at the sight of all these goods there was bitterness at the fact that many people had been forced to give all their possessions to farmers before currency reform just to get enough food.

These first notes were similar to the US dollar. This was hardly surprising, since they had already been issued in utmost secrecy in New York in the winter of 1947/48, then shipped to Bremenhaven and, finally, stored in Frankfurt under the strict supervision of the American military police.

Without consulting the Allied military bureaucracy, he announced the far-reaching elimination of economic control stipulations and laid the foundation stone for the free market economy.

This meant that, arithmetically, each person in this part of Germany could afford one suit every 10 years, one shirt every 10 years and a pair of shoes every three years. It meant that only every second baby had nappies.

The nutrition level had reached its lowest post-war level of 1,000 calories per day. Any entrepreneurial spirit was stifled by the increasingly strict management of privation.

Many people were no longer willing to work, since rationing meant that a day's wages in Reichsmark couldn't be spent on goods anyway.

It often made greater sense to spend the whole day on the black market trying to sell the allocated per capita ration of 40 cigarettes and six-week period, a ration roughly two weeks wages.

The western allies were aware of this situation when they began devising the currency reform in the western zones in September 1947.

Efforts were intensified after the Allied Control Council split up once and for all on 20 March, 1948.

Even though the development of prices over the past forty years has reduced the purchasing power of the Deutsche Mark by almost two thirds the currency is still in good shape on its 40th anniversary.

It was not until December that consumer prices began to fall following a limitation of the official creation of money and the introduction of credit restrictions for banks. These moves were accompanied by a continuing increase in the production of goods.

They were told that this would be their home while they helped allied experts work out a currency reform.

The USSR reacted to the announce-

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Continued from page 4

ability would continue to have to stand in its stead with the tacit approval of all Germany's neighbours.

As for the new-found impatience with Allied responsibility, which some would sooner see go today than tomorrow, what is to take its place — the place of Allied responsibility?

Those who are impatient with it must bear in mind that the shape Germany has taken, for better or for worse, has always been intimately linked with the state of Europe and that Allied responsibility for Germany includes the US and Canadian forces stationed in Central Europe.

Arthur F. Burns, the former US ambassador in Bonn, called them "trustees of the German nation."

World power always requires a world power

■ TRADE

Japan and Europe still in dispute over restrictions in spite of all the words

Relations between the two major international trading powers, the European Community and Japan, remain tense.

There is endless talk on both sides about the need to further liberalise world trade and dismantle trade barriers.

But the words are all too often not matched by action. In economic and trading policies there are still many points of dispute.

For years European politicians would have had us believe that the offenders were only in the Far East. But that is not so.

The limitation of car imports from Japan to specific market shares or numbers of vehicles, so that France, Britain and Italy could protect their own manufacturers, is one example.

What would happen without these barriers can be seen in countries such as Germany or Belgium, where the Japanese have achieved a high share of imports.

From Europe to Japan, matters are worse. Two makes of German car are able to penetrate Japan (Daimler-Benz and BMW).

But the Japanese are making it difficult by using a multitude of environmental-protection conditions and technical requirements and standards. There is unlikely to be any change to this in the foreseeable future.

Japan's Prime Minister, Noboru Takeshita, is well aware of the problems. He followed up his visit to President Reagan in Washington with two trips to Western Europe: at the beginning of May he visited Britain, Italy and Germany, and at the beginning of June he went to The Hague, Paris and Brussels.

Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, must have had plenty of opportunity to study Japanese idiosyncrasies when he was the French Economic Affairs and Finance Minister.

The Japanese Prime Minister discussed with him primarily questions of general economic interest — with an eye, of course, to the industrialised nations' summit in Toronto.

Delors and Willy de Clerq, the Commissioner responsible for external relations and the Community's trading policies, made it clear to Mr Takeshita that the Europeans were still unhappy about trade between the Community and Japan.

In a résumé of developments produced by the Brussels Commission, trade between Western Europe and Japan has grown "in a spectacular manner" over the past 15 years.

In 1970 the trade deficit with Japan was only \$500m; in 1987 it was \$24.2bn. Between 1986 and 1987 alone the EC deficit rose 13 per cent.

There is a distorted picture certainly when the situation is looked at on a dollar basis. But even if the position is expressed in Yen or Yen terms, the EC deficit is colossal.

EC exports to Japan have increased by 20 per cent, greater than Japanese exports to the EC (up 6.1 per cent).

These figures refute the charge that Europe is not "an open market." The Japanese have achieved growth in the "Old World" while their exports worldwide have dropped 5.6 per cent, and trade to the USA has fallen 10.4 per cent.

REINISCHER MERKUR

disputes of this kind. The behaviour and actions of the third trading giant, the USA, are given considerable attention by Tokyo and Brussels. They are looked upon with suspicion and that holds good for the prevailing atmosphere of cooperation.

In 1987, for example, the EC Commission protested bitterly against the "semiconductor agreement" between the US and Japan, because the Commission feared it would be to Europe's disadvantage.

It is just here that European companies show their weakness. At the time when Wilhelm Haferkamp, vice-president of the EC Commission, retired in 1985, managers regularly complained about the host of trade barriers other than customs barriers that the Japanese had erected.

Haferkamp made it known to these complainers that, independent of all barriers, European businessmen would never conquer the Far Eastern market without exerting themselves considerably.

He pointed out that Japan, with a population of 120 million consumers, was an important sales market for them.

In the meantime the jungle of Japanese trade restrictions has been thinned out a little, but complaints to Tokyo still achieve little.

Anti-dumping accusations fill volumes. It is a matter of routine for Japanese manufacturers to undercut prices on European markets with their products.

The committee responsible within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is constantly having to deal with

and quite inadequately reacted to requests to bow to this arbitration.

Brussels has also demanded unimpeded access to Japanese financial markets for European banks.

Shipbuilding is another point of conflict between the EC and Japan. The Japanese share of world shipbuilding has increased from ten per cent in 1950 to 50 per cent now. The Europeans complain that this has only been possible by injecting billions in subsidies into the industry.

Now all the shipbuilding sinners together — the EC, the Japanese, the South Koreans and others — have agreed to take action for fair competition within this crisis-ridden industry. This is a relief.

Takeshita could not, or would not, make any positive undertakings concerning these demands during his visit to the EC's headquarters. He has only been in office since last November and he has to build up his public image at home.

He emphasised that he was aware of the responsibility that his country and the EC bore in the current eighth GATT negotiations for further liberalisation of world trade — the Uruguay Round to which they are known.

The major disagreement between the USA, Japan and the European Community has yet to come in these negotiations — another acid test of their fine-sounding intentions.

But it is not only the Europeans who are plagued by worries. The Japanese are looking with some concern on current efforts to realise a Single European Market at the end of 1992 for the free movement within the market of people, goods, capital and services.

They cannot get rid of the fear that the EC will become a kind of "fortress," an inaccessible market.

EC Commissioner Willy de Clerq has tried to calm Takeshita's concern in this direction, but he has failed completely to do so.

Hans-Peter Ott
(Rheinischer Merkur/Chrisi und Welt,
Bonn, 17 June 1988)

In this age of high unemployment, the use of "self-employed workers" is becoming a widespread practice in many industries. It means that firms can hire people, pay them slightly over the going rate but save on wage incidents such as insurance.

One employment office spokesman says that the practice has always existed. What is new is its extent. It is now common in meat-processing, construction and distribution. Many employed on this basis find that the slightly higher wage leaves them with less after paying medical insurance, pension scheme and other extras.

It is also a system that leaves them employed only at the whim of their employer. This article was written for the Bonn daily, *DIE WELT*, by Boris Kalnoky.

As a self-employed businessman you aren't compulsorily insured, and you are unlikely to make voluntary contributions when you simply can't afford it.

The butcher stands at what looks like an assembly line — except that disassembly is probably more appropriate for the blood-spattering work of stripping down carcasses of beef and pork.

He severs the bones with an axe and a saw and strips down the meat with his knives. But he too is self-employed, with his own tools and equipment.

He also runs his own risks. What happens if he is ill? If he has an accident at work? If he is sacked? What about pension contributions? They're all his lookout.

If any of the four presents problems, that's too bad. As a self-employed man he has to choose: either to take out full insurance and take home barely enough to live on — or to live well and trust to luck.

These are just a couple of instances out of thousands. All are wage (or salary) earners — or unemployed men and women — who have gone into business on their own (on their own behalf and at their own risk, as German business contracts often state).

He "buys" the glass of soda water or the platter of mixed salad from the restaurant owner, who looks on from behind the counter, and "sells" it to the customer.

The boss dictates the prices. They settle after closing time. Hiring and firing is on a weekly basis.

A spokesman for the Federal Association

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ing system where a person buys goods from a firm and then sells or tries to sell them. It is banned in some countries.)

You must also undertake to attend further training courses from time to time, "appropriate course fees" being payable.

You may only use cleaning agents supplied by the firm — at prices it fixes. You aren't guaranteed sole rights in a given area, but the company may supply further customers — for a special fee.

Breach of contract costs at least DM3,000 and is a ground for instant dismissal, in which case the company is entitled to all franchise payments until the end of the normal notice period, plus a one-off DM5,000 as compensation for loss of earnings.

The contract says that "this sum is the minimum payable and loss of earnings does not need to be proved."

Hans-Henning Strauss, of the North Rhine-Westphalian Labour Office: "What is new is that sham self-employment occurs in all trades these days, but particularly in meat processing, in the construction industry and in data processing."

His department has been taking a closer look at the phenomenon for several weeks. "We have to arrive at a conclusive analysis before we can act but we are already stepping up our investigations."

Michel Vial of the Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg, says: "These methods are undermining the Hired Labour Act."

"Fair contracts and labour hired for limited periods are increasingly being replaced by contracts with one-man entrepreneurs."

There is little the Labour Office, which is supposed to ensure a modicum of order in the labour market, can do. "We are only entitled to make checks when we have a definite suspicion that the law is being broken. So we can only come across cases of sham self-employment by coincidence."

A Dortmund firm specialising in coach tours to Spain hired drivers who used to work for another firm that recently went out of business as self-employed subcontractors.

Their sole job as self-employed men is to drive the firm's coaches. The coaches are the company's property, with drivers each investing DM10,000 in them as limited partners.

The firm drew up a model balance sheet showing that self-employed drivers could expect to take home DM2,500 a month after all stoppages. Salaried drivers earn roughly the same, including expenses.

But the self-employed drivers must make provision for holidays (the cost of the holiday plus the income not earned), and he can forget about Christmas bonuses or protection from wrongful dismissal.

Sham self-employed status is a tough nut to crack legally, with definitions too vague by far.

"Besides, you stand to be punished for getting into the firm's bad books. They often beat you down to a lower hourly rate for individual jobs."

"You refuse at your peril. You can then spend three or four weeks at home waiting for the next job. That can hit you very hard. We are totally dependent on the firm, which owns the expensive material."

"One-man firms are increasingly being taken on as franchise-holders in many trades and on doubtful terms."

"Case law regards as the decisive criterion individual control over the manner, place and time of one's work."

"But if general guidelines outline a job in such detail that effective control is exercised without the need to give special instructions, there can be no question of arranging work as one sees fit."

Boris Kalnoky
(Die Welt, Bonn, 15 June 1988)

■ THE THIRD WORLD

25 years since German peace corps began — with JFK as a guest

President John F. Kennedy was President Heinrich Lüthke's guest at the founding of the German Volunteer Service (Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst - DED) 25 years ago.

The model for the German service was the American Peace Corps, established by President Kennedy two years earlier in 1961.

Over the past quarter of a century the 8,000 male and female DED volunteers have contributed much to the Third World. They have also learned a lot.

There are 900 DED volunteers in developing countries and the slums of proliferating cities. There is no question that their work is self-sacrificing, often carried out with considerable risk to life and limb.

Doctors, male and female, cooperate with local nursing sisters to build up health facilities. Trade school teachers and motor mechanics instruct in theory and provide basic practical knowledge.

Hydrologists teach how water can be tapped and how to be economical with it. Foresters try to retain the vegetation or to revive it, and despite poverty, put a stop to over-exploitation of nature.

These activities are not carried out in development projects initiated by the DED, and not with a lot of money, but in close cooperation with local skilled people and using modest means.

The financial and personal conditions for DED volunteers to work successfully have been considerably improved by close cooperation with other development aid organisations of donor countries and international institutions.

Development aid volunteers are at the

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The older ones pride themselves on their experience.

Much has changed in DED, but the volunteers are cast in the same mould as those of the early years. They are a different breed from those of their contemporaries who decide to stay at home and care out careers.

People in an organisation, which is described as a specialist service with social involvement, expect not only to help overseas, but also awaken with missionary zeal an awareness of the need for development aid.

They are restless, impatient, self-willed and rebellious.

Every development aid minister has been aware of this. Even Erhard Epple, who identified himself totally with the role of development aid volunteers, was not spared DED conflicts.

The DED volunteers, however, are also experts. The developing countries demand that they have had professional training and experience.

More than 60 per cent of the male and female volunteers who are taken on are university graduates, who have the necessary practical sense.

He said: "No other organisation gave me so much worry in the six years I was Development Aid Minister."

The Bonn government has given DED a budget for this year of DM88m. The Bonn government is the main shareholder in the DED non-profit organisation. DED operates under contract from the government. An amalgamation of private organisations, the "Learning and Helping Overseas" working group, holds five per cent of the shares.

The Minister for Economic Cooperation has political responsibility for DED. It is only natural for young people who are tempted by distant places and important undertakings to feel a considerable urge to be independent. They would prefer to be completely independent.

Because of this it has been impossible to exclude disagreements over official development aid policy.

There have been communication difficulties between DED volunteers and the organisation itself, which certainly does not lack understanding of its protégés.

All Bonn governments have shown themselves ready to compromise in their dealings with development aid volunteers. Conflicts were overcome, sometimes swiftly, sometimes with agony.

There has been constant debate. When the excitement with Bonn government policies in Nicaragua has died down, displeasure with government policies over South Africa raises its head.

The chairman of the DED administration, Johannes Niemeyer, regards it as a matter of course that DED volunteers bring their experience from working on the spot into discussions on development aid policies. He believes controversy is not only necessary but also fruitful.

Niemeyer said that he would not want to disregard the emphases which DED volunteers bring to development aid policies.

In the disputes, that go back four years, volunteers have secured a lot of independence — but of prime importance a right of participation in the management of DED.

It becomes outrageous when matters are talked about endlessly and discussions are polarised in conference after conference.

The DED takes pleasure in discussion about itself, for instance along the lines of how the organisation sees its own role.

The German Volunteer Service has frayed away a lot of time in pointless friction and with exaggerated concern about itself over the past 25 years. This wasted time could have been put to better use serving the needs of the Third World.

Klaus Broichhausen
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 21 June 1988)

More poorest-nation debt must be written off, says minister

Germany has provided DM140 billion over the past 30 years in development aid to 24,000 projects in 140 countries. In this article, Hans Klein, The Bonn Economic Cooperation Minister, talks about development aid to Hermann Fröhle of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Mainz.

Question: You made 10 June "Third World Information Day." Why? Three out of every four people approve the aims of development aid.

Klein: Most people, 74 per cent, approve of development aid for the Third World. But public opinion polls are answered on the spur of the moment. Development aid requires the constant agreement of people in this country. This is why I designated the 10 June a nationwide "Third World Information Day." On this day we could show our solidarity with those who particularly need our help, by demonstrating the German contribution from the state, churches and private organisations to development aid efforts.

The public will be able to get extensive information about economic cooperation with partner countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America through any number of events and a nationwide telephone talk-in with myself as Minister for Economic Cooperation. I have high hopes that the effect will continue long past the day.

Q: The countries of the Third World have an enormous debt burden. It is true that since 1978 Germany has written off DM4.2 billion of debts incurred by the poorest nations, and has provided them with grants that do not have to be repaid.

Nevertheless is that sufficient? Does Germany plan further debt remission in the foreseeable future?

Klein: What has been done so far is not sufficient. Germany must write off bilateral state debts to provide an effective and credible contribution to solving



World-wide responsibilities... Hans Klein
(Photo: Sven Simon)

the debt crisis of states which are particularly poor, deeply in debt and ready to introduce reforms. This definition applies to six African states. The total sum involved is about DM2.3 billion.

Q: Measured in gross national product terms, Germany provides more development aid than other industrialised nations, but still less than the UN expects. Do you have well-founded ex-

pectations of being able to increase the state's development aid budget?

Klein: According to the UN Resolution, to which you refer, every developed nation should make available to the Third World 0.7 per cent of its GNP output. The industrialised nations accepted this performance objective primarily only as a guideline and without a specific time span limitation. The current German contribution of 0.43 per cent is well above the average among the industrialised nations — the average being 0.36 per cent of GNP.

The development aid budget share of the national budget has continuously increased over the past few years. It will continue to increase, I hope, over the coming years.

Q: Every year millions of Germans spend their holidays in countries of the Third World. There is considerable criticism of Third World tourism, particularly the behaviour of individual holidaymakers. What is your view of Third World tourism? What advice would you give German holidaymakers?

Klein: The spoken or unspoken view of tourists who go to Third World countries is that this contributes automatically to that country's development is untrue. It is much more important to understand other cultures and learn from them. Anyone who travels in the Third World, well-prepared before-hand, can contribute to better understanding between North and South, creating human bridges between both sides.

Hermann Fröhle

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 10 June 1988)

■ AEROSPACE

The new Ariane puts three satellites into orbit

Ariane 4, the largest launcher rocket built by Esa, the European Space Agency, took off for the first time from the Kourou space centre in French Guiana after two delays because of technical hitches. Twenty minutes after take-off it put three satellites into orbit: a European meteorological satellite, an amateur radio satellite and an American telecom satellite.

Ariane 4 will be the workhorse of Western European space travel until at least the mid-1990s, with about eight take-offs a year from a newly-built launching platform.

ArianeSpace, the booking agency, has orders in hand to launch 44 satellites at a cost of roughly DM5bn.

Ariane 3 is still in business but due to be retired next year. Ariane 4, in its various versions, will then be on its own.

The marketing agency feels Ariane is a sound proposition. When it entered the running in 1981 it was expected to handle 50 per cent of the satellite launching business.

It is much longer than either of the earlier versions, Ariane 2 and 3. A longer first stage and a new payload housing add about 10 metres to its length.

A new electronic brain steers during the first phase, which lasts about 15 minutes.

American private companies are shortly to enter the running with three old rockets, some of which were in use for decades before Ariane arrived on the scene.

The new rocket has been made more powerful mainly by extra booster rockets attached to the lower section of the first stage which are fired at take-off to provide extra thrust.

There are two new versions of these auxiliary rockets, one with solid and one with liquid fuel.

The liquid-fuel booster rockets are a further development of the second stage. They are built near Bremen. The two boosters make the new-look Ariane extremely flexible. Various permutations of booster rockets suit specific purposes.

There are six variations: the Ariane 4 without booster rockets and with either two or four liquid- or solid-fuel rockets.

The maiden flight used a hybrid version, with two liquid- and two solid-fuel rockets.

Depending on booster rocket array, Ariane 4 can put payloads of between 1,900 and 4,200kg into geostationary orbit, as generally used by telecom satellites.

They appear to hover 36,000km over the equator and can be readily sighted by transmitters and receivers.

The latest addition to the Ariane family is made even more flexible by an improved payload casing, the hood that protects the nose of the rocket on take-off.

It can hold up to three satellites simultaneously, making best use of the loading bay.

Ariane 4 was Oscar, short for Orbiting Satellite Carrying Radio, the 13th satellite of Amsat, the amateur radio satellite organisation.

Radio hams from all over the world can now use a new satellite for their hobby and for experiments. Largely unnoticed, they have been using orbital satellites since 1961.

Oscar 13, like two predecessors, was designed and built by staff of Marburg University central electronics laboratory.

The satellite serves a scientific purpose. It will be used to test multiple transceiver access in outer space, a technique that could prove extremely important as frequencies are increasingly used.

Oscar cost DM1.5m and was funded by the Federal Research and Technology Ministry.

Including labour, it will probably have cost DM10m. But that still makes it a bargain; comparable projects normally cost much more.

Costs were cut by volunteer labour supplied by radio hams. If Oscar had been aborted their man-hours would have been the main loss.

Ariane 4 improved Esa's track record from Amsat's viewpoint from 50:50 to two out of three.

One previous mission was a success, while another, in May 1980, did not even rate a successful splashdown.

That particular Oscar sank without trace, together with the wreckage of the Ariane, in the south Atlantic.

Wolfgang Brauer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 June 1988)

Common market

Continued from page 6

Hammes is in no doubt that the decision to market cars again in Europe has been triggered off through the emergence of a Single European Market.

It is certainly true that many major American companies are well prepared for the Single European Market, many better prepared than their European competitors.

Stephen Telegydy, spokesman for Dow Chemical, commented: "We have tried for a long time to be pan-European. For this reason 1992 will mean more for us less of a change than for many a European company."

The situation for smaller American companies, who until now have only had supplier-customer relations across the Atlantic, is different. The Single European Market will be something of a threat to them.

But that could quickly change. In America there has been any number of surveys urgently urging these companies to recognise and use "the extraordinarily favourable opportunities that will be offered by the Single European Market."

That quotation comes from a Data Research Inc. study, whose chief economist, David Hartman, advises with emphasis: "The time has come to be present in the European market, to build up existing commercial bases or to enter into strategic contracts with European companies."

Gerd Brüggemann
(Die Welt, Bonn, 21 June 1988)



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■ BOOKS

Thousands of disintegrating volumes keep restorers hard at work

The ravages of time had taken their toll on the books: for 200 years, the cold and the heat and the insects and the dust had gone to work on them.

Then, during repair work in the synagogue in Hechingen, they were discovered in an attic.

Today, two years later, they make pitiful sights: piles of tattered paper without covers on the clean plastic work table of Alfred Wellhäuser.

Wellhäuser is a restorer of old books at Tübingen University. He brings about a dozen old books such as these back to their pristine glory every year.

The torn pages are treated, missing parts added, the pages washed and treated with a preservative, the cover repaired and embellished once more.

The result is books that look just as they did when they were commissioned long ago by well-to-do people from bookbinders.

The craft of restoring books is far from dying out. It is going through something of a boom. There is too much work for the number of restorers. Hundreds of thousands of books, many valuable, are waiting the attentions of the few experts in the field.

In Tübingen University alone there are 250,000 that need restoring and another 800,000 where the situation is urgent — and there is only one man to do the job.

The university also has a collection of old oriental documents.

In rough detail the method Alfred Wellhäuser applies to delapidated books is always the same. But many books are unique in themselves and have to be treated accordingly. Wellhäuser warned: "You can never say that you have the last time."

He acquired his talents for restoring books as a master book-binder and former head of the Tübingen University press.

Surprisingly 19th century books are the problem. Those several hundred years old are less so. Dr Gerd Brinkhus, chief librarian at Tübingen University said: "Paper made from rag pulp doesn't lose its strength after 600 years."

There is a technical reason why books from the 19th century are most prone to disintegrate. The replacement of the hand-press invented by Gutenberg by the high-speed printing machines at the beginning of the 19th century allowed book printers to increase their production enormously.

Paper factories could not find sufficient raw materials to be able to meet the demand. So they replaced the rags (fibres obtained from old clothes,) that had been used up in paper production, and bone glue with replacement materials, mainly wood and alum resin.

This spelled the beginning of trouble. The wood could only be processed into paper with the use of acid additives — and in time they destroyed the structure of the paper.

Today the first step the book restorer has to take to go about his work is to wash out and neutralise these corroding acids, page by page.

This is why at the very start the book has to be completely taken apart.

After measuring the hydrogen ion concentration in the pages (strength of the acidity) the individual pages are



placed with great care between sieve frames, washed in a water bath, de-acidified and finally protected from acids in the air with calcium carbonate.

What follows next is often very tricky. The pages or scraps of paper that have become thin and torn are once more "treated."

Wellhäuser places the individual pages on the bottom of the sieve of the treatment equipment. He pours over them water mixed with fibre slurry.

The enzymes are made harmless in another warm bath. The new book page is finished. Thanks to the paper that has been inserted into the sheet the page is substantially more robust.

Restorers must not only treat the paper but also the rest of the book — the wooden book covers, leather binding, colouring and the stitching.

Tübingen also has palm-leaf manuscripts, the writing is on narrow strips of palm-leaf that are bound one on top of another.

Pigskin is always pigskin. The restorer tries, as far as possible, to re-use the old leather parts.

Restorers keep to the original scheme of the book-binding usually, sometimes with simple, sometimes with double binding.

If a new wooden cover has to be prepared Wellhäuser uses playwood or in special cases pear-wood because these woods are sturdy.

Now and then book experts come up on scraps of paper when they dismantle

page, and it should also be remembered that synthetics also age.

"When we restore we do it thoroughly and not just to postpone deterioration."

Wellhäuser agreed. He said: "I assume that our books will not deteriorate over the next 500 years. If you just paste something over the paper it can be guaranteed that in five years' time it will again begin to deteriorate."

In Tübingen chemicals are used sparingly and only to an extent that they can later be neutralised.

In this connection Wellhäuser tells of a manuscript that in 1966 was laminated with a self-adhesive layer of film, that went brown because of the synthetic softening agent it contained. It was also in danger of dissolving.

Book expert Professor Wächter from Vienna needed 500 hours to find a suitable solution for the synthetic layer he needed, and treated 250 pages with it millimetre by millimetre — an enormous task.

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Continued on page 11

Readers wanted here but not everywhere



Gets riled about censorship ... Lehmann.
(Photo: Wolfgang Hau)

task of cataloguing the library's 3.4 million volumes on computer and setting up a new lending system that was "more friendly to users."

Lehmann has just as considerable a task facing him at the German Library. Since 1978 he was appointed director of the Frankfurt municipal and university library. His "almost exotic career as a librarian" predestined him for the major

Every year another 100,000 volumes are added to the four million already in the library. Weekly indexes provide information about new publications.

Recently spoken works in other media have taken on an increasing importance, videodata, videos and magnetic tapes.

Lehmann is also concerned with making technical improvements as regards security, recording and making available everything printed and said in the German language that add up in their entirety to an "objective journal" of the German nation.

In a few years' time the German Library will move to a new building, that should provide enough space for many years to come.

For the considerable organisation this move entails a cheerful and energetic man is required and one is quickly aware that Lehmann, who seems at first to be a little technocratic, is the right man.

He regards free access to the written and spoken word as a part of intellectual freedom in a democratic society.

Lehmann, who is generally unruffled, becomes animated when he says how disturbed he is of anything that smacks of censorship.

He has in his charge four million books. He was asked what he himself read.

He spoke of his reading in connection with his present job and historical research on the Frankfurt library. Lehmann, who has the key to all the library's store-rooms, did not give away who were his favourite writers, however.

Gustav Seitz
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 May 1988)

■ EXHIBITIONS

At the end of acres of turnips the glories of Ancient Egypt

DIE ZEIT

Arne Eggebrecht, director of the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim, takes the view that the whole of Europe is addicted to Ancient Egypt.

He said: "Perhaps it has become the most attractive sophisticated culture of the Ancient World because this world does not seem to know anxiety and horror.

There is today a great longing for a world where anxiety and horror did not seem to exist."

Why is it always Hildesheim when an exhibition is going on a tour taking in Cairo, New York, Hildesheim and London?

How is it that Hildesheim can get hold of exhibition items that normally one would have to travel halfway round the world to see?

The fragments of three heads from Ancient Egypt were separated from one another for a long time, for 3,000 years in fact.

Bringing them together was an event of world significance and that happened at Hildesheim. Egyptologist Eggebrecht, 51, can be content with what he achieved.

The first major show to be put on while he has been director, the Egyptian exhibition in 1976, was obtained through his personal contacts.

Anyone who wants to put on an exhibition of the Ancient World in Europe with expectations of success calls in at Hildesheim first.

The museum has become renowned for the quality of the exhibition it has mounted. The next five years are booked out.

The man whom Eggebrecht attracted to Hildesheim from Munich is on the floor above him in the Hildesheim Museum. He is 155 centimetres tall, no longer young, astonishingly popular and made of bright limestone.

Explaining this attraction Eggebrecht said: "The seated portrait of the Vizier Hem-iunu is one of the most important figures from Ancient Egypt — like the letter-writer in the Louvre, the Nefertiti head in Berlin and the village mayor in Cairo." His report on him was only distributed to university circles.

Eggebrecht has been excited enormously by bringing this marvellous work of art out of the shadows.

He has been equally excited in bringing before the public the collection of the Hildesheim collector-businessman Wilhelm Pelizaeus, which according to expert opinion is one of the ten most important collections outside Egypt.

Eggebrecht said: "Hem-iunu controlled the building of the Cheops Pyramid at Giza. He was closely connected with the origins of this wonder of the world."

He is particularly eager to present the history of this statue so that visitors get an insight into this key personality in the civilisation of Ancient Egypt. From the very beginning he had no thought of presenting art history pure and simple.

Brinkhus was asked why these books were restored at considerable expense and not just simply put on micro-film. This course of action is also

Eggebrecht is particularly concerned at presenting the head in a way that makes it easy for the public to make contact with the object and which corresponds to the modern way of seeing things.

He offers a lot without over-doing it and information prepared in such a way that it does not seem to be tiresome or educational.

But to make every visit to a museum an exciting and delightful event calls for an obsession with detail, even at points where one is unaware of this.

Eva Eggebrecht, Arne's wife, also an Egyptologist and his assistant, said:

"When we go to a museum we first look at the lighting and then whether the floor will be hard on the feet."

Eggebrecht said: "Objects are my passion. It has always fascinated me, like an adventure, to come into contact with real life through them."

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Hildesheim has a romanesque basilica, a world famous cathedral, a thousand-year-old rose tree, acres of turnips stretching way up to Hanover, a great past and is too small for a man, who wants "to make as many people as possible understand ancient cultures as phenomena and examples of human potentialities."

It is impossible to make a name by just appealing to the educated classes who pass through. And who would set off to Hildesheim just for Hem-iunu?

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Our interview on this was repeatedly interrupted. Firstly there was the can-can manager and then forms from job-creation officials had to be filled up.

Then a woman art dealer wanted an expert opinion and the magazine Capital wanted to know if a fake work of art was about to be auctioned in London.

One thing is certain: he does everything possible to publicise his museum. He is not the kind to put his museum in



Ancient Egypt cannot be understood in terms of time, so it retains its magnetism, says Arne Eggebrecht.

(Photo: Thomas West/NOVUM)

the background and dissociate himself from his public.

The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung spoke of the "Hildesheim Effect." It has its being through one person, his personality and his commitment.

While in other museums there is considerable complaint about budget cutbacks, the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum has a budget as large as that for a small village.

The 650 friends of the museum, most of them private individuals, provide DM1.2 million. They have a set membership fee of DM120 annually. Many give more. The funds are superfluous to himself.

To create the right public for Hem-iunu and the other items in the museum, Eggebrecht has shown qualities in Hildesheim that would make many smart managers green with envy.

The plan for special exhibitions originated "through the pressure of an understanding of local conditions."

The minute Hildesheim team was the first in the Federal Republic that was able to attract visitors to the museum from far afield in a very professional way.

This was done with the aid of an advertising agency, with posters all over the place from Amsterdam to Zürich, with wide-ranging cooperation with the press and links with other tourist arrangements.

In the midst of all this city officials had to be convinced. It was all a little too much for them.

A sign of the optimism and sense of competence he radiates is shown by the fact that Eggebrecht was able to induce them, to their credit, to shoulder the financial risk and to provide insurance premiums, for instance, of DM300,000.

The alliance has been worth it for

applied since many academics only want to know what is in the books.

He replied: "We need these old volumes so as to be able to explain interconnections — for instance the movement of books between monasteries."

A small blot of sealing wax can indicate in which monasteries the book was produced.

Eggebrecht has been entrusted personally with the items in the special Hildesheim exhibitions, which have given the city its reputation. They have come from New York, Turin, Boston and East Berlin.

Draft poster designs are already being considered for the next exhibition about the Scythians.

Thomas Neuschwander

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 June 1988)

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 17 June 1988)

■ EDUCATION

Foreign students all over Europe sue to end tuition-fee discrimination

RHEINISCHER MURKUR

In a wave of educational litigation that is sweeping Europe a French woman student has taken her application for a German student grant to a Hanover court.

In Edinburgh a student with dual, British and French nationality is engaged in a legal battle for a Scottish university grant.

In Neuchâtel, Belgium, the Belgian authorities are suing a schoolboy's parents for school fees; the parents are French citizens and live in Luxembourg.

An Italian student has taken his cause for a Belgian student grant to the Council of State, while in the neighbouring Netherlands the son of a German European Community official is suing for a Dutch student grant.

There are many other examples. All involve young people who have switched countries during their education.

It might be thought that in this day and age in Europe, this sort of international experience would be encouraged. But as soon as students put European rights to the test, even countries that are generally considered pro-European often don't want to know.

The authorities come up with absurd theories to justify the unjustifiable. It is hardly surprising that two cheers for Europe is the best the public can manage.

The wave of litigation was triggered by a French woman student of comic strips at the Belgian Royal Academy of Fine Arts.

For the 1982-83 and 1983-84 academic years she was charged a special fee for foreign students known as Minerval.

She refused to pay, arguing that Minerval was in breach of European Community law, which prohibits discrimination on grounds of nationality within the Community.

Belgium felt the special fee was not discriminatory. It was the contribution foreign students made toward financing education facilities, otherwise maintained by Belgian citizens via national taxation.

Besides, education policy was a national concern for which member-states were individually and solely responsible.

No citizen of a member-country had a binding legal entitlement to study in another European Community country, let alone to attend study courses on the same terms as nationals of the country in question.

Maybe the Belgian Education Minister did not want to take seriously a European Community action programme he himself had approved in principle in 1980. It envisaged course fees for students from other member-countries being no higher than the fees local students were required to pay.

Maybe he had failed to notice that the European Parliament had called on Belgium in 1982 to "waive all discriminatory measures in connection with matriculation fees in the education system."

But he was unable to ignore the February 1985 ruling by the European Court of Justice.

The court had ruled in 1974 that "education policy may not, as such, be an issue for which organs of the Community are responsible by the terms of the Treaty of Rome, but it does not follow therefrom that the exercise of powers vested in the Community are restricted in any way when they may affect measures relating, say, to the implementation of education policy."

This was followed in 1982 by a ruling prohibiting discrimination where a foreign national of an EEC country was required to pay fees that nationals of the host country were not required to pay.

In its February 1985 ruling the court unequivocally stated that: "A charge, matriculation or study fee for participation in vocational training courses constitutes a breach of Article 7 of the Treaty of Rome, which prohibits discrimination on grounds of nationality, when it is payable by students from other member-countries but not by local students."

The crux of this ruling lies in the definition of vocational training. The more comprehensive the definition, the greater the Community's potential influence in this sector and the more limited the sovereign rights of member-countries.

By the terms of the ruling vocational training is "any kind of training in preparation for qualifications in respect of a specific trade or profession or a specific employment or providing special qualifications for the exercise of such a trade or profession."

This definition is said to apply "regardless of the age or level of education of the students and even if the curriculum also includes general education."

Ulrich discovers international flavour to law studies

The writer of this article, Professor Michael Martinek, teaches civil and commercial law, comparative legal studies and international private law at Saarbrücken University.

Ulrich is a 24-year-old student from Düsseldorf reading law in his eighth semester at Saarbrücken. He hopes to practise law in his home town after graduating.

He was hesitant about studying law. He loves travel and is keenly interested in the languages and cultures of neighbouring countries.

They interest him no less than his interest in the law, in justice, order and peace.

Many friends had warned him: "If you read law you will only be able to work in Germany. German law only applies in Germany. Engineers, doctors and economists have a much wider scope."

To Ulrich's delight, studying law has been entirely different. In his first semester at Saarbrücken he learnt about the law faculty's wide-ranging international ties, cooperation agreements with universities in other countries and,

thus to be subject to special fees being levied from foreign students.

The authorities are clearly counting on foreign students not being prepared to take their cases to court. They are still trying to levy illegal fees.

All students knew that these fees were levied, the Belgian counsel told the European Court of Justice. So they need not feel they were being unfairly treated.

The consequences of the European Court rulings are not limited to Belgium. In a 1985 case Britain and Denmark pointed out that the ban on discrimination in access to educational facilities within the European Community must logically apply to scholarships and grants and to other welfare provisions and their effect on the cost of education.

Court rulings have so far been limited to access to courses of study and make no reference to scholarships or welfare provisions during a course of study. But they too must be clarified in connection with the cases mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this article.

Posers

Does the Federal Republic of Germany face an influx of students from other European Community countries? It currently ranks No. 2, with over 18,000 students from other member-countries. Only France has more.

And if there is to be no discrimination against students from other Community countries, what is to be done about courses where access is restricted because demand exceeds capacity?

What, for that matter, is to become of university self-government in connection with the admission of foreign students?

It is high time to prepare for surprising developments in this connection. The European Community may come into effect in the education sector sooner than some would prefer.

Oskar Graf
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt,
Bonn, 3 June 1988)

wide range of international experience 30 years ago.

Son Ulrich is nowadays by no means exceptional. At Saarbrücken more and more law students are taking advantage of the flourishing exchange schemes with Nancy and Exeter, especially the European Community is generously providing mobility grants.

A growing number of law students from Nancy and Exeter are spending a semester or two at Saarbrücken and making German students consider the idea of studying abroad.

Law students are increasingly coming to appreciate that law graduates today stand a far better chance of getting on in legal practice, in the civil service, in business or in the administration of justice if they have international experience.

The law faculty is keen to encourage them and to promote the trend. In addition to special courses in European integration and French law, time spent abroad is encouraged as part of "ordinary" legal studies.

Graduation need not take longer; most semesters spent studying law abroad count toward the Saarbrücken course.

Ulrich's sister Monika, 20, plans to study law in Saarbrücken this autumn.

She may take part in the integrated course of studies agreed by the Saarbrücken, Lille and Warwick law faculties.

Continued on page 13

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Report says plutonium lethal at any level; slams methods of setting 'safe limits'

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Atomic energy is more dangerous than was originally assumed, says a Marburg radiologist. Any exposure to radiation, no matter how small, is dangerous. Plutonium in particular is unsafe in any dosage.

The Social Democrats in the Bonn Bundestag have referred his findings to the Federal Constitutional Court in a bid to have the Atomic Energy Act ruled unconstitutional.

Horst Kuni is professor of clinical and experimental nuclear medicine at Marburg University medical radiology centre. He is the author of a comprehensive survey entitled *The Danger of Radiation Damage from Plutonium*.

There was originally believed to be a threshold below which exposure to radiation did no damage.

The International Commission for Radiological Protection now says there is a linear link between the dosage and effect of radiation, no matter how minute the amount.

So radiation exposure ceilings used at nuclear installations, even assuming they are observed, can merely limit the damage and not rule out the health hazard.

The degree and extent of radiation damage may not depend on the dosage, but the higher the dosage, the likelier it is to occur.

Professor Kuni's report lists the latest findings as follows:

- "Nuclear fuel reprocessing facilities release a much larger quantity of radioactive substances than atomic power stations in normal operation."

- Experience in handling plutonium has shown that "even planned and technically controlled release of plutonium in reprocessing is inevitably linked with its release into the biosphere, endangering not only people exposed to radiation in their professional capacity but also third parties."

- "Even if emission by plutonium installations is below the statutory limit it is not only a health hazard, as science now sees it, but likely to be injurious to health, for the most part with fatal consequences."

- "Experience so far with reprocessing plant shows accidents to be a characteristic accompaniment of normal operation."

The crucial factor in the undue public health hazard posed by atomic energy is that plutonium is added to standard nuclear fuel rods then known as mixed oxide, or mox, elements.

The plutonium used is reprocessed. The more often spent fuel rods are reprocessed, the lower the percentage of

fissile plutonium they contain and the more plutonium has to be added to mox elements by way of compensation.

On balance, Professor Kuni says, "plutonium activity increases out of all proportion."

As a result of the higher plutonium content with each successive reprocessing americium and curium are produced in increasing quantities.

Americium and curium are alpha isotopes with properties similar to those of plutonium.

"When they are released in the initial stage of reprocessing," he writes, "the health hazard posed by plutonium isotopes increases three- or fourfold after three cycles."

"That of americium and curium isotopes increases four- to sixteenfold, with the result that they assume much greater importance than plutonium."

If the cooling-off period for spent fuel rods is to be reduced from at least seven years to one year, as he says is planned by the nuclear power industry, "the danger posed by fissile products" will be increased by an enormous extent.

An equivalent dose is specified to compare the effect of the various kinds of radioactivity (alpha, beta, gamma and neutron radiation).

The so-called quality factor is determined on the basis of a political decision. The Bonn government issues guidelines and general assessment criteria as it sees fit.

It does so on grounds of political expediency.

"Both the dosage concept in general and the assessment criteria for individual radionuclides have long been known no longer to be up to the latest scientific standards."

The very definition and specification of standards such as "equivalent dose" and "quality factor" are said to include "valuations that, without express legal authority, are made by scientists and can hardly be recognised as such by non-experts in the guidelines as issued."

In the process, Professor Kuni writes, "original limitations to the range of application (are) overlooked."

Numerous research findings, he says, "have revealed for alpha radiation as emitted by plutonium and for neutron radiation, which is particularly important in handling mox fuel elements, a relative biological efficacy that, depending on dosage, substantially exceeds the quality factor laid down in radiation protection regulations and used to convert physical to equivalent dose."

Professor Kuni, reviewing current scientific knowledge on the subject, says ceilings are far too high. Yet "when an individual who does not come into contact with plutonium as part of his job is found to be contaminated his contami-

nation level will be 10 to 100 times the present limits."

People who come into contact with plutonium at work are so inaccurately checked "that contamination will only be spotted in favourable circumstances before the present limits are reached."

"Once the ceilings are lowered, which is long overdue, working with plutonium will no longer be possible by current standards of labour safety."

Working with plutonium can have the most macabre aspects. A one-off exposure to more than the current annual limit may, in cases where plutonium has accumulated in the body for years without exposure exceeding the annual limit, lead to the person affected no longer being entitled to a normal burial.

"Instead," Professor Kuni writes, "a lifelong check must be kept on his whereabouts to ensure that his corpse is given the requisite special treatment."

The limit needs to be reduced ten-fold, he says, and even then women will continue to be in greater danger than men.

"Mothers Against Atomic Energy" and similar campaigns thus have scientific justification. Ceilings are set on the basis of absurd averages and heedless of individual considerations, such as the fact that breast cancer virtually affects women only.

If a cancer can be cured, by removing a breast, the limits are increased because breast cancer is no longer considered to be lethal.

So the more progress medicine makes, the higher the level of radiation exposure that is permitted by way of "compensation."

Even if satisfactory limits were to be set, the term "residual risk" would not mean there was no risk if limits were observed.

The residual risk will invariably spell illness or death for someone once the collective dosage has reached the level in question. The risk is that no-one knows who will be the victim or when.

"Can normal operation be permitted," he asks, "when no precautions can be taken against an unplanned-for contingency?"

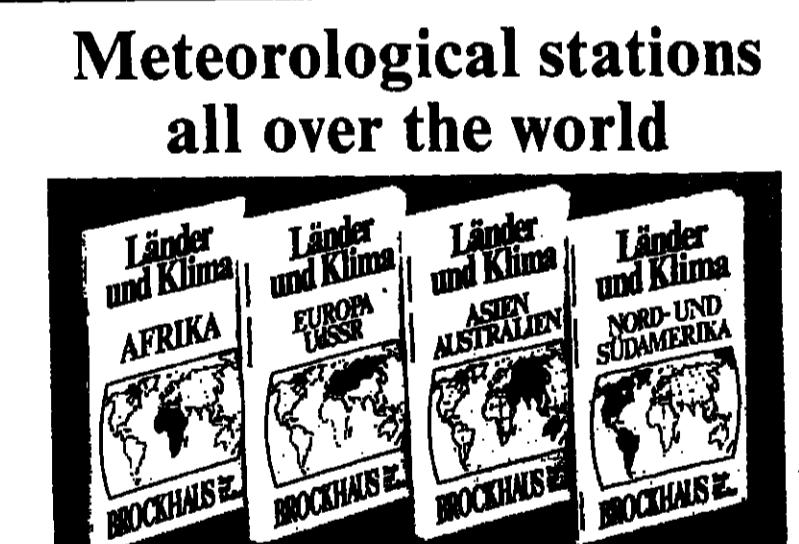
"Is accident management planning acceptable when instead of aiming at reducing risks to the minimum it presupposes a minimum level of damage before radiation protection measures are foreseen?"

Is the plutonium industry, which makes no economic sense, really permissible in the circumstances? That is now for the Federal Constitutional Court to decide.

Kuni quotes a Marburg theologian, W. Härle, who has compared the operation of nuclear installations with a reversion to pre-Christian times when civilisations sought to appease the gods by human sacrifice (especially that of virgins).

The only progress present-day civilisation would seem to have made is to base the choice of victim on the stochastic, or random, principle.

Martin Urban
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 16 June 1988)



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These compact books are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and sport.

The guides are handy in size and flexibly bound, indispensable for daily use in commerce, industry and the travel trade.

Four volumes are available:
North and South America, 172 pp., DM 24.80;
Asia/Australia, 240 pp., DM 24.80;
Africa, 130 pp., DM 24.80;
Europe/USSR, 240 pp., DM 24.80.

Look it up in Brockhaus.
F. A. Brockhaus, Postfach 1709; D-6200 Wiesbaden 1.

Continued from page 12

culpties that is due to start at the end of 1989.

It is the first three-country agreement of its kind, and German students will spend a semester each in Lille and Warwick.

They may soon be able to spend one or more semesters in Ann Arbor or Tokyo as part of their ordinary course in legal studies at Saarbrücken.

Saarbrücken has a countrywide reputation as first choice for law students keen to gain experience abroad. Bernhard Wox spends much time and hard work managing the exchange schemes.

His motto is: "The dry, old legal studies of yesterday are dead. Long live the Justice International!"

Michael Martinek
(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 30 May 1988)

■ FRONTIERS

On the road with a copy of the tramp's own paper

A bi-monthly newspaper produced by people who themselves have lived on the road is aimed at helping both tramps and the people from government authorities who deal with them. *Berber-Brief* (Berber is German slang for tramp) is run off on a duplicating machine at a village east of Munich although, like its staff, it has been of no fixed abode until now. Most of the articles are written by hand and most of the

Peter Gotthardt has been an editor of *Berber-Brief* (Tramps Letter) for a year. He and his colleagues have one quality in common with the paper: they are all drifters.

The paper has been run off on photocopiers at various shops and distributed by contacts in many parts of Germany. But now, they have acquired a small stencilling machine and appear to have found a permanent address for the newsroom: Mühldorf am Inn, Bavaria.

Every two months the staff have to raise the publishing costs of between 500 marks and 600 marks by begging.

The address is confidently pro-



BB FREUNDE
Berber-Brief -
eine Brücke zwischen
Bürgern und Berbern
Mühldorf am Inn, 8330 Munich, West Germany
Bridging a gap.

laimed at the top of page one, it could change again, but the outlook is settled.

A year ago, editor-in-chief and founder Hans Klunkelfuss settled in Mühldorf am Inn, east of Munich, with his wife, bringing the paper with him.

Gotthardt: "It looks as if he has found a permanent home." His cheerful cynicism disappeared as quickly as it came. He said: "Klunkelfuss was nine and a half years on the road. You do not go through that without it having had its effect on you."

The paper's readers notice straight away that "the paper does not come from the social worker mob."

The references to reality are too direct and unadorned, the statements too provocative, the language too direct.

In the last issue Klunkelfuss announced: "All politicians are drunks." He was trying to expose the prejudices against "drunken bums" and trigger off a discussion on the poverty and alcoholism of his "companions."

He said: "We don't solve our problems with a beer bottle in our hands. Showing why alcohol plays a role in our lives can be a first step on the fight against it."

They justify their self-confidence even if they are begging on the streets and applying for the social benefits that the state guarantees.

What is certain is that three million people live off social assistance, two

readers (circulation is a little over a thousand) are middle-class people who work in advisory centres or for citizens' initiatives. Editor-in-chief Hans Klunkelfuss started the paper in angry reaction to confrontation with people behind desks. It began as a leaflet. The first edition had one page. That has increased to 20. This story was written for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt* by Rainer Wortschka.

On the second page, a staff member called Hannes Grossmaul (Grossmaul means big mouth in German) writes: "I don't see why we should go hungry just to satisfy an official's sense of tidiness."

"It is one of the realities of poverty today that by sit on the pavement begging, we upset the affluent image some cities have of themselves."

Time and time again the articles, more often than not written by hand, take up matters that are urgent for the more than 100,000 homeless in Germany.

The paper puts to the test official overnight sleeping facilities and also readers report on whether, in a certain town, tramps can get a cash handout or just a bowl of thin gruel.

Some officials are criticised for being impolite; others because they move tramps from park benches.

The paper also includes poems expressing experiences of daily life "on the road."

One writes about the sense of solidarity, another tells of small insights he has



Paging all tramps. Berber-Brief staff at work.

(Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

had. They express what all the authors hope for: "That perhaps there will be a little more understanding of our situation."

Many readers come from the middle classes, mostly people involved in advisory centres or citizens' initiatives.

Germany's society for helping the homeless often refers to the columns of the *Berber-Brief*.

Society chairman Heinrich Holtmannspöter said: "The paper is instructive, particularly for people who make decisions, people who sit behind a desk and have no practical experience."

The paper originated from confrontation with the people who sit "behind desks." It began with a fierce leaflet that Hans Klunkelfuss produced in Weizlar against the practice of the social services office there of handing out food coupons instead of cash that the law says should be handed out.

Gotthardt said: "Tramps had to be told that we must make our rights public."

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They are the highly-gifted who do not fit easily into the normal education concept. Many of them end up failures despite their extraordinary intelligence.

Obviously the staff are enthusiastic. They have plenty of time during the day to write articles. Gotthardt rejects the officialese description of the homeless as "persons of no fixed abode."

Instead, he draws a comparison between them and the proud and aggressive nomads of the desert, "the Bedouins." But he says that the risk is that this will give the impression that tramps have chosen this way of life.

Fundamentally the tramps do not want better conditions for tramps but to get out of tramping for good.

Klunkelfuss, who is a qualified printer and type-setter, knows that this sort of goal cannot be achieved by the news

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Skid row no longer a male preserve

The 35-metre high Bismarck Monument at the top of Hamburg's Reeperbahn is a tourist attraction, but the statue and its surrounding park is a traditional congregation point for the city's poor.

They are called the people "of no fixed abode," the homeless or perhaps tramps, drunks or bums.

There are a million people in the Federal Republic who have living accommodation problems, 700,000 in homes that are below acceptable standards. 200,000 in emergency accommodation and 100,000 homeless, who sleep in derelict houses, in parks or who look for a place to doss down under bridges.

Until quite recently it was only men without a roof over their heads in the country's major cities. But since 1987, the UN Year of the Homeless, voluntary organisations have been concerned at the increasing number of women among the homeless.

Neither had a home. They found shelter with their acquaintances. They knew their way around. One said: "There are many women who have nowhere to live, but they don't admit it."

Unemployment, social isolation, physical or mental suffering can end up for men and women being homeless if the mesh of the social services net is too wide.

Heinrich Holtmannspöter, chairman of the Federal Republic's society for helping the homeless, said that many women in the depths of poverty suffer in addition from "violence from an individual male, for instance sexual abuse, rape or physical ill-treatment."

Karl Stengler, head of the department dealing with the homeless in Hamburg's social services department, joins Holtmannspöter in his view that there is a considerable number of unreported cases involving women.

He said: "We don't solve our problems with a beer bottle in our hands. Showing why alcohol plays a role in our lives can be a first step on the fight against it."

They justify their self-confidence even if they are begging on the streets and applying for the social benefits that the state guarantees.

What is certain is that three million people live off social assistance, two

experts are of the view that women are more modest. They put up a struggle to get by before they turn to public services for help.

Some look for "protectors" in the red-light district. One woman said: "Sometimes all you are offered is a glass of schnaps and if you don't perform you are thrown out."

According to the Federal Republic's social legislation anyone who does not have a home "should be helped to overcome, to cope with, to mollify the difficulties... and also be helped to find and maintain a home."

No-one disputes in principle that everything should be done to re-integrate people into society. But in practice things are different.

Various areas of responsibility among officials and a tangle of regulations, "quickly become a barrier that people without money and a home can not overcome," according to the society for helping the homeless.

Many hostels for the homeless only provide a roof over people's heads and there is a lack of trained personnel.

In one home for women there were 106 inmates, many living there for just a day or a month, many for years.

Margit, 50, has been living in one home for ten years. Occasionally she gets a job as a charwoman or kitchen help — for a couple of mouths. She said: "Sometimes I've thought that I should pack it all in."

Many women are in despair. Some escape into alcohol or drugs. In the past few years more and more have come directly from the psychiatric wards of a hospital into a hostel.

Rainer Wortschka
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt)

Bonn, 17 June 1988

dpa

(Mannheimer Morgen, 28 May 1988)

■ HORIZONS

Bid to promote the highly intelligent child

General-Anzeiger

Albert Einstein was a poor scholar. His teachers predicted that he would have a mediocre career.

What happened to the discoverer of the theory of relativity happens still to a minority of schoolboys and girls.

They are the highly-gifted who do not fit easily into the normal education concept. Many of them end up failures despite their extraordinary intelligence.

Many super clever do not regard their gift as a blessing. The normal education system is not geared to schoolboys and girls with an IQ of 130. The average IQ is 100.

The consequence is that these high-fliers quickly become outsiders or shut off during lessons because they are bored.

Teachers and parents do not feel comfortable with many of them, because their thirst for knowledge is tiresome. Others disturb lessons, are not moved up to a higher class and show off.

Every highly-gifted pupil has an individual school career which is very dependent on whether parents and teachers come up to the pupil's intellectual requirements.

Many of these high-fliers are threatened with being sent to special schools, many are not moved into a higher class.

Parents and teachers have become more aware of the problem over the past few years. But there is a difference of opinion as to whether the highly-gifted should be sent to a school especially set up for them or that they should be integrated into the normal school system.

There is a high school for pupils who are particularly gifted, the private Christopherusschule in Brunswick, set up by the Christliches Jugenddorfwerk Deutschlands, a Church orphans and education organisation. The school provides special instruction at advanced levels with boarding school facilities attached.

The pupils are taught about aviation and space technology, astronomy and basic questions of philosophy.

They have 40 study projects they can choose to participate in during the afternoons.

The teachers are especially trained, because these pupils need more attention and personal guidance than other pupils.

Applicants for the Brunswick school have to do examinations and oral tests over a period of two weeks.

They are tested for their speed of learning, social behaviour, powers of concentration, flexibility, aptitude for abstract thought and application to work. The IQ test is not in itself decisive.

The Brunswick school costs about DM1,000 a month. Parents who cannot afford this fee are given financial assistance by the Church organisation. State aid is not available.

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